6: Sauer--85 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 226, 251

"Of the neighbouring Yakuti [RCH: near Svedne Ostrog] we sent to request a supply of horses to convey us to Yakutsk, with the earliest winter roads. The inhabitants were, for the greater part, at their autumnal fishing huts on the river Euxeva, 40 versts up the Kovima, when we arrived; but returned a few days after with a plentiful supply of fish, berries, roots &c.

On the 20th September the river was frozen over, and on the 22nd, the inhabitants made a kind of dam nearly across, by sticking poles upright quite close together, only leaving openings for inserting nets and wiers, to catch a winter's supply of fresh fish.

The nets were examined twice a day, and generally found well stocked with nelma, muksoon, omul, and seld (a kind of herring), a few stirled also were now and then caught; and these were thrown on the ice to freeze, the only method adopted to preserve them."

14: Krauss--177 E-5 (no date) 1888 Yakut
226

Ukulan, the deity of the fishermen. He lives in the water and affords successful fishing. He is offered two-years-old black calf.

17: Erman--257 N-3 (1828-29)1850 Yakut
116, 226, 556, 437

"In Kantinsk, seventy-seven versts from Peskovsk, and in the following stages, the Russian population is mixed with more than an equal proportion of Yakuts. These are far more successful fishers and hunters than the Russians, and we were always sure of finding in their yurts a good stock of carp and other fish. Many of them have grown rich by barter, while the Russians here, by their own confession, find a miserable subsistence."

17: Erman--258 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 226, 437

"I purchased of the Yakuts in Murierinsk a supply of carp, which furnished us with some good dinners in the following part of our journey. Most of these fish were now swelled with roe to double their ordinary size, and many of them were very large independent of this circumstance. . The method adopted here for carrying them is to run a stick, about two feet long, through the middle of the body, so as to sustain a great number of fish with their flat sides close together, while a crook at either end prevents their falling off. They are taken in the lakes belonging to the Yakuts on the northern side of the Lena, and, consequently, the Russians on the river have only as many of these fish, as those original and more practised lords of the soil allow to escape to them. The latter, however, carry many hundred poods of this fish for sale into the upper part of the valley."

24: Wrangell--292 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 136, 226, 233

"The people about Werchojansk are Jakuti, and their chief occupation is the care of cattle, to which the hilly country and the milder climate of the sheltered valleys are very favourable. There is also much less snow here than in other parts of northeastern Siberia, so that the cattle can be left out in winter, and find sufficient pasture. This is the more important, as from the very dry summers the growth of grass is never such as to afford a good stock of hay. There are, generally speaking, fewer lakes abounding in fish than in the Kolyma district; but some of them are so full of small species of fish about two inches in length that they may be scooped out of the water with buckets. These little fish, which are preserved for the winter by being frozen, furnish a very good article of food, pounded and boiled with the finely-grated inner bark of the larch-tree. Hunting is much followed: hares and grouse abound, and the country is rich in fur animals; elks, reindeer, black bears, wolves, musk deer, red foxes, ermines, wolverines, and squirrels of the most valuable kinds, are all numerous; but black foxes are rare,and sables are not found here. The musk deer (moschus moschiferus), called here kabarga, must be abundant, as a pound of musk is commonly sold for no more than from ten to fifteen roubles."

36: Niemojowski -- 106 T-2 (no date) 1883 Yakut
116, 156, 224, 226

" The Yakuts are of small stature, thick-set, and awkward in their movements. Naturally of a social disposition, they agree wonderfully amongst themselves. Their occupations, like those of all the Asiatic tribes, are fishing and hunting, fishing generally merely to satisfy their wants, and hunting for the same reason, or to protect themselves from wild animals. They do not experience so much pleasure in these occupations as the other races. They fish and hunt from necessity, not from love of sport. "

/182 cont./

114 Olenék, near the mouth, he found the sunken graves overgrown with moss and lichens; only a weathered wooden cross with a barely legible inscription recalls the hero to mind. Perhaps an age that has again turned its interest to a significant degree to the navigation of the Arctic Ocean will set up a worthy monument for this deserving champion at the place where he ended his heroic career.

175 At that time Russian peasants probably lived
178 here; perhaps the present inhabitants are in part descendants
[651] of the many crews that came here with those bold commanders; they still call themselves krestjáne, i.e., peasants, and their crown tax seems to be standardized accordingly, differing from that of the other Jakuten /Yakut/; in everything else they are completely Jakutized and any reminder of former times has
[829] disappeared. But they complain that they are becoming ever
[162] fewer, not, say, because of especially devastating sicknesses, but because only daughters are preponderantly born to them. I do not know whether this phenomenon also occurs among other ichthyophagists. But that is what they are in the truest sense of the word.

● 226 During the greater part of the year they feed themselves and
262 their dogs almost exclusively on fish. Mukssún and o'mul of
231 considerable size are the principal fish, also taiméne /taimen/ and néljma, for which, however, this was not the proper season, and therefore, instead of the anticipated delicacy, we had
226 to be content with the former, less prized fish. Otherwise only a few smaller kinds of fish are found here, but no sturgeon or sterlet, although these, as we /183/ learned on the journey, are caught, even though rarely, much farther upstream in the region of the Ssiligír. Fishing is also productive in the tundra lakes; in particular two kinds present there were brought to us, the ihúü and the mungnúr, the latter a very tasty fish that is also quite common in the Olenék itself, where from the Ssiligír

/183 cont./

● 226 on it was presented to us, caught both by our men and by the natives. Perhaps it is the fish found in the lakes of the Jenisseí /Yenisei/ tundra and called mutschugór there (actually, we once heard it called that on the Olenék), which the academician Schmidt mentions from hearsay and which is very highly prized there. It has pale pink, almost white flesh, is very fat, and is barely two feet long. Along the Lena the Russians call it tschir, but it is hardly identical with the Jenessei fish of this name.

[439] Fish do not represent a trade article here, but are caught by the natives only for their needs. Fishing is said to have been 262 not particularly productive this year, but no shortage was to be seen. Our two Tungus, with the abundant fat fish set before them in every possible form, even forgot their native crucian, for which they had longed during the whole trip, and even the unheard-of happened when old Golé refused an evening meal because he could not eat any more. Raw fish in particular, frozen hard, cut in chips, and taken without any condiments, usually even without salt, is a favorite dish, which, incidentally, in Irkutsk, where it is known by the name struganína, has its devoted admirers even in higher society. I myself could not acquire a taste for it.

136 Apart from fish, however, the coast here is very unproductive. No one was able to tell us anything at all about larger sea animals. /184/ A seal was supposed to have been killed some time ago as a rarity. Polar bears do not seem to be common either and are not hunted by the natives, who rather have a great respect for 223 them. In summer there is a surplus of water birds, which are captured in great numbers, especially during the molting season. We were also told of such, about the size of a small goose, that come, not from the south, but from the north, from the sea. Since something similar is reported by almost all the travelers who have visited the Siberian shores of the Arctic Ocean, the fact 224 cannot be doubted. Wild reindeer are present in abundance -- we saw a large herd on our trip through the tundra -- and are killed in various ways, but especially with springtraps. Many hares are found in the immediate vicinity of the ocean. The arctic fox, however, constitutes the real wealth of the natives here. It is very common on the tundra and is predominantly

/195 cont./

122 man who had just returned from the Arctic Ocean. Most of the visitors appeared with gifts, of which, however, we accepted only just what we needed, for /196/ appropriate compensation, of course. One of the visitors brought a reindeer and received for it generous payment in cash, which he apparently had not counted on, for he became very embarrassed and finally explained that in this case he wished to exchange the animal given for a larger and fatter one, which, of course we could not oppose.

On the day after our arrival the clergyman from Bulún, Nikolai Ssljepzów, also visited us, and we spent a very pleasant evening with him. He told us a great deal about his travel adventures on the tundra, which he frequently had to cross. The dangers for the intrepid traveler are great -- not the least is the danger of getting lost. Once, just when his traveling companion had gone off, the clergyman was suddenly thrown out of the narte by the dogs, suddenly excited at the sight of a wolf, and he was saved only by the intelligence of the lead-dog who forced the rest of the team to circle the place of the accident closer and closer until he had again found his master and brought the dogs to a standstill near him. He would have been hopelessly lost, without any food, without a compass, hundreds of versts from any settlement. Our guest was also able to give some much desired information about the natural products of the parts of the country traversed by him, and Czekanowsky was particularly pleased by the accounts concerning several sources of petrifactions along the
[136] Lena and the shore of the Arctic Ocean; the clergyman even claimed to have frequently seen ammonites, which we could show him in illustrations. Encouraged by us, he promised henceforth to collect natural products himself, as much as he could, for which we gave him a short course of instruction and asked him to send his eventual collection to the Siberian Section of /197/ the Imperial Geographical Society in Irkutsk. On the next day he sent us a young shark which he himself had caught near Bulún, that is, in the river.

632 Bulún, as I have said several times, is at present the capital
[103] of an entire district, or, as one says here, ulússes /ulus/, which, however, is still named after the former capital Shigánsk /Zhigansk/.
[226] On the maps the latter is even designated as a town, but it is now
[439] practically abandoned. Bulún, which lies only about 120 versts

/197 cont./

632 from the Arctic Ocean, owes its present importance less to the rich
[226] fishing, which could be made useful for the more southerly regions
[439] only by the establishment of a steamship company like the one on the Jenissei /Yenisei/, and more to the trade in arctic foxes and in particular in mammoth tusks, which are collected here from the entire region and then taken to the European market by
[136] way of Jakutsk /Yakutsk/ and Irkutsk. Fossil ivory is found throughout northern Siberia, although the richest sources are supposed to be the New Siberian Islands in the Arctic Ocean, but the trip there across the frozen ocean involves great difficulties and dangers, and we were even told that the government had prohibited trading trips there after a party of ivory-seekers perished on one.

161 131 According to the more detailed reports gathered by Czekanowsky on his second stay in Bulún, the population of the entire ulússes consists of 2,293 souls, 770 of whom are counted on the stretches of the Lena lying within the forest region, 30 in the forest region along the Olenék, while about 550 live on the timber line itself between the Lena and Anábara, and /198/ over 900 live on the tundra, and, in particular, on the islands at the
131 mouth of the Lena and the Olenék. These people, consisting of
177 Jakuten /Yakut/, or rather Jakutized Tungus, are cut off on all sides from intercourse with other human beings by broad, barren stretches scarcely traversed by a hunter, certainly to their advantage -- I have spoken above, in the description of our sojourn in Boljkalák, of the inhabitants' purity of morals -- may it be preserved here a very long time and may more active intercourse and the cultural advance connected with it exert only a whole-
426 some influence on these upright primitive people. Up to now --
273 at least so we were assured -- the natives strictly guard against running into debt with the merchants, and liquor, this plague advancing in the train of civilization and so corrupting for all primitive peoples, seems to be relatively not very widespread
273 here. I must mention here that the government does not permit, or at least permits only under great limitations, the sale of spirits to the native tribes of Siberia, as well as to the workers at the gold washings, but, in view of the immense tracts of land to be

/207 cont./

136 but since then have completely disappeared. They are therefore also retreating southward here just as along the Nishnaja /Nizhnyaya/ Tunguska. The wild sheep (tschubukún) found farther south in the Werchojansk Range had been heard of, but they are not found here even in the rockier parts of the tundra, although there, as well as here, marmots (tarbagán) are very common.

● 226 Our host also engaged in fishing with great success at the
439 mouth of the Omoloí, the yield of which -- mukssún, o'mul, tschir, and néljma -- except for what he uses himself, he for the most part exchanges for furs in Ustjjansk /Ust-Yansk/.

122 On the next day we continued our journey almost due south
13 and passed a very populous balagan, which was named for us as Iggitauýt, as well as several tributaries of the Great Omoloí, which lies to the east of the Little Omoloí which we had already crossed. We were told that the region abounded in swamps and lakes that were full of fish; the forest, although somewhat taller than that of the previous day, was still very poor in comparison with that found at the same latitude along the Olenék, alternating with great tundra-like plains. In general, it seems as though in the far north the /208/ extensive plains are not favorable for forest growth and that it remains relatively vigorous only in the more uneven terrain even up to very high latitudes. In the afternoon we reached the stan Dshüssál on the lake of the same name, where I decided to make some astronomical observations because of the exceptionally mild temperature of barely -20° R., according to which we were at 60° 38' latitude.

On our further travels the next morning we were surprised after a short trip along the shore of the Omoloí in the vicinity of the settlement Ojóma by a little grove of poplars (Populus suaveolens Fisch.). This poplar, according to the natives, reaches its northern boundary here, but has such small trunks that they are unfit for working. On the day before we had noticed many
133 willow thickets in all the river valleys that we crossed. From
122 Ojóma on a broader view of a quite considerable mountain range

(up to the beginning of the 20th century), is a humped iron scythe with a short, curved handle with which the grass was rather hewn (left and right) than mown. Later on this scythe was replaced by the Russian Lithuanian-type scythe and is never used nowadays. The Yakuts mowed the grass in the alasy and river valleys, gathering the hay into small sheaves, in which it often became soaked and rotted away, hence the quality of the hay was not usually very high.

In the winter, the cattle were kept in cold, dark and crowded khotons, which were usually built under the same roof as the dwelling; the animals were usually herded into the khoton only at night, while in the daytime they were left outside, in the frost. When there was a lack of hay, the cattle had little to eat, and were watered with icy water from a hole in the ice. The austere conditions under which the cattle were kept and the cold climate made them hardy, but unproductive. The Yakut cow yielded an average of 60 buckets of milk a year, and for two or three months in the winter was left unmilked. The mares were only milked in the summer, as a general rule.

Both the cattle and the horses were utilized in much the same way; they gave milk, meat, and hides, and served for transportation (oxen were usually harnessed to carts, while horses were ridden, or carried packs).

The predominance of pastoralism involved preservation of the semi-nomadic way of life. Until recently the Yakuts retained the custom of moving twice a year—round about May and October—from the winter to the summer camps, and back again. The winter dwellings were usually set up near the mowings, while the summer dwellings (which, incidentally, were comparatively close by the former) were built close to the pasture-lands.

Fishing, Hunting and Agriculture

The second branch of economy in importance was fishing. There was a tremendous amount of carp and a small fish called mundu in the abundant lakes, and coregonus muksun, white salmon and so on were plentiful in the rivers. For the poor people who had no cattle, fishing had long been a main occupation; the expression balyksyt (fisherman) is used in documents of the 17th century in the sense of "a poor man." At the same time, there were actually complete tribal groups who seem to have lived chiefly by fishing. These were the so-called "foot clans" of the Yakuts (Osekui, Ontuls, Kokui, Kiriks, Kyrgydays and Orgots). These tribes, who were clearly a remnant of the very ancient prepastoral population, were first discovered in the 17th century by Russians on the Vilyuy. For the Yakut pastoralists, fishing was an essential subsidiary occupation and has retained its importance until our own day.

The fish were caught chiefly in the summer, but there was also fishing through the ice during the wintertime. Use was made of seines which were chiefly made of horsehair, smaller nets, and sack-nets, etc. In the autumn there was usually collective fishing with a large seine, and the catch was divided among all those taking part, in accordance with ancient custom.

There is a hypothesis (V. L. Seroshevskiy) that Yakut fishing was only recently borrowed from the Evenks and Russians. In actual fact, fishing is the oldest form of economy among the population of the Lena region, including the ancestors of the Yakuts.

Hunting is the third, though far less important, branch of Yakut economy. Just like fishing, it goes back to very ancient times. During the

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

(naturally, subordinate in turn to the tsarist administration); those who sat at the head of them, the elders and chief elders, were either toyons in origin, or mere servants who obeyed them implicitly. The clan and nasleg meetings (munnyakh), at which the poor people dared not say a word, played the same part.

Thus, the frequently expressed opinion that the clan structure was retained among the Yakuts right up to the 20th century is a profound error.

Just as erroneous is the opinion of certain ethnographers that there were elements of the matriarchate among the Yakuts. This view is based on the fact that there was a division of the aga-uus (paternal clan) into smaller groups, iye-uuha (literally, "maternal clan"). The latter do indeed figure in the 19th-century official documents under the name of "tribal clans." But, despite the Yakut name, these small groups were not genuine maternal clans; kinship and descent were not reckoned on the female but on the male side. The name "iye-uus" is evidently to be explained by the fact that these subdivisions were descended from one clan progenitor, though from different wives.

More direct, although also more or less modified, survivals of primitive-communal relations were retained by the Yakuts in certain characteristic customs, such as, for example, elements of collectivism in fishing. The Yakuts retained the custom of communal net-fishing in rivers and lakes belonging to individual naslegs and clans. The catch, which was often an extremely abundant one, was divided on the spot among those taking part as well as among the onlookers (though the latter received less, admittedly). In the north there was a similar custom for moulting geese, which were caught by tens of thousands.

The custom of mutual gifts (belekh) was also very archaic. The Yakut would visit a relative or friend, sometimes at a far-away spot, and receive a gift from his host, as though in gratitude for the visit; the gift would be a horse, saddle, a certain amount of meat, and so on, and in return, according to custom, he would invite the giver to visit him, although it might be a long time after, and present him with a gift of approximately the same value. These gifts were often timed to coincide with weddings, though they were sometimes presented independently.

The custom of hospitality was also observed. Hosts had to regale a guest visiting them, even though he might be a complete stranger, with the same food that they ate themselves. Since this custom clashed with the capitalist psychology, reared on commercial relationships, it was regarded in many cases as an inevitable evil which everyone tried to avoid in every way he could; this often resulted in comic episodes in which the hosts (more often than not wealthy people) hastily hid away the food they were about to eat when they saw a guest approaching, while the latter resorted to various tricks in order to find where the food was hidden. According to the old custom, the host was also obliged to invite relatives and neighbors whenever a beast was slaughtered and to offer them meat. Nonobservance of this custom gave rise to public censure.

Apart from these individual customs, the Yakut society admittedly retained the characteristic, half-conscious patriarchal ideology, which was clearly not a reflection of their true relationships, although it served the interests of the toyons, who knew how to make use of it. The toyons liked to style themselves the forefathers, heads and sponsors of their clans; they skillfully fomented various interclan quarrels (usually

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

224
towards the reindeer in complete silence, and in summer they wore a protective gray coat the color of the stony tundra. Both in summer and autumn, [292]
until the first snow fell, the Dolgans used to trail wild reindeer with hunting dogs. They used poisoned bullets, and probably poisoned arrows as well in the past. As the poison they used rancid reindeer fat. The Dolgans living [481]
in the forest-tundra had wide skis of the Tungus type, but they could not use them in the tundra on account of the drifts.

Hunting wild reindeer was only of importance as a source of meat and skin for the Dolgans' own semisubsistence economy.

For catching geese they set traps or arranged noose-type snares by the 223
nests, and also drove moulting geese into nets set up in advance or harried them with dogs and then killed them with sticks. Ducks were trapped with special nets stretched across lakes. Partridges were also caught this way, though only in winter. Sometimes a live female partridge was tied to the net as bait.

Polar-fox hunting was of quite considerable economic importance and 224
produced the principal commercial yield. The animals were mainly caught with traps and snares. As it seized hold of the bait, the fox pulled away a [177]
stick and released a log which fell onto it. The principle of this trap was borrowed from the Russians; up to that time they had only set self-firing bows on stakes driven into the ground to catch the animals.

The commonest type of fishing tackle both in summer and winter under 226 ●
the ice was an upright net 6–30 m long. The nets were made of threads or horsehair brought from Yakutya. In the Noril'sk Rayon the nets were used [492]
in the autumn in mountain rivers. The draught animal employed for this purpose was the reindeer and the ropes from the net were attached to its saddle. Other types of nets were used to a very limited degree. Seines were also commonly used for sterlet, burbot, pike and grayling and trout with hooks prefabricated from bent 10-cm nails. Burbot was also caught with special bone points instead of hooks.

For traveling by water, mainly for fishing purposes, there were tree- 505
trunk canoes brought by the merchants from the Yenisey, or bought from the Yakuts. There were few boats; it was only on the rivers Pyasina and Khatanga that they were used.

The Dolgans subsisted mainly on meat and fish. These were boiled or 262
dried and the fish was also eaten in the raw, frozen and unfrozen forms. Fish was also kept in pits where it was pickled. Dead geese were kept buried in the ground. Certain roots were also eaten; they were dug up with reindeer horns or special wooden trowels.

The old type of nomadic dwelling among the Dolgans was the conical 342
Tungus-type tent covered with thin panels of suede (in the summer) and deerhide (in the winter). In the old days the Dolgans, like the Evenks, built huts of the Yakut type, but without the windows, benches and hearth.

With the advent of the Russians the huts were gradually ousted by sled- 342
tents or baloks. These are little huts on runners. The framework consists 177
of wooden struts tightly covered with bright-colored calico, and on top, to keep it warm, there is a layer of deerskin and a canvas cover to guard against damp. In this kind of dwelling there are two windows with glass, an iron stove, bunks, a table, and sometimes even chairs. Whereas the erection of a pole tent required a great deal of labor during the cold winters, this type of tent can simply be pulled along the ground to a new site. These tents were borrowed in the last century from Russian merchants who traveled in them through the tundra.

Among other structures we should point out storehouses standing on 343
high piles for keeping winter clothing and utensils.

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Men's snow goggles.

There were certain traces
of matriarchy still to be found. For example, in the old times several Dolgan families living in one dwelling would elect a communal housewife, to whom all the men were subordinate. Until quite recently, maternal kinship was considered closer than paternal kinship among the Dolgans. The women kept the fire going and "fed it," and also supervised the family sacred relics. Clan organization among the Dolgans fell into abeyance in the 19th century.

The development of trade and the introduction of improved techniques into the principal occupation of the Dolgans, that is to say hunting, led to the acquisition of furs on a personal level. Furs had long been an item of trade. Their commercial importance had an effect on the relations among the Dolgans in the field of distribution. Products from reindeer-hunting or fishing had to be divided among relatives and neighbors, while furs (polar-fox or sable) were considered the absolute property of the hunter and were left untouched. An important factor in the social differentiation of the Dolgans was the concentration of the bulk of the reindeer herds, which were not particularly numerous as a whole, in the hands of a small group of rich households. This became a basis for different forms of exploitation: such as the loaning of reindeer to poor people who then became dependent on the richer reindeer-breeders, the hiring of herdsmen, mainly orphans or poor relatives, and so on. Nomadic groups were often formed through the congregation of poorer households around a richer reindeer-breeder, who made use of his neighbors' labor for pasturing and watching the herd. In the second half of the 19th century petty Russian commercial travelers appeared among the Dolgans, together with Yakut merchants who exploited their kinsmen.

Nevertheless, the economic production and distribution among the Dolgans retained numerous traces of the original communal relationships. This includes the above-mentioned collective forms of hunting (cuttings, spearings), joint fowling, fishing and so forth. Although the means of production for hunting and fishing had long since become private property, the booty

421 was considered collective property, particularly in summer when several households nomadized together. Having killed a wild reindeer, the hunter 224 was expected to give up the skin and meat to the families of his group, but 226 keep the head and neck for himself. During the collective trapping of geese or spearing of wild reindeer a representative was chosen to make the division, and everything caught was divided up by families, according to the number of members.

224 The sites to be used by the nomadic groups for their summer hunting and fishing were decided in the spring, before the mosquitoes appeared. The heads of the groups would agree on the places where their own kin would hunt. Under this system each group hunted in new areas each year. Ownership of the polar-fox traps took a different form. The traps were private property. When setting new traps "behind" (i.e., to the south of) the old ones, no permission was required, but if they were set "in front of" the old ones (to the north), whence the polar fox came, it was essential to have the permission of the owner of the old traps, since when the foxes came down, they would be caught chiefly in the new ones. It was not forbidden to hunt other animals at the sites of the traps.

601 The system of kinship among the Dolgans was the classificatory type, 882 and the terms used for kinship were Yakut. The family was of the patriarchal type, but the young people enjoyed great freedom until they married.

771 Although the Dolgans were considered Christians and observed the ex- 776 ternal, ritualistic aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, they also retained their old animistic beliefs. Deities and spirits were divided into three categories (the same as for the Yakuts): ichchi, or incorporeal, invisible beings, who brought to life anything which they entered; ayyy or spirits well-disposed towards humans; abaasy or spirits hostile towards humans and causing various sicknesses and misfortunes; these lived in the earth and in the underworld. A person was believed to get sick and die because the abaasy had stolen his soul and carried it away to the underworld, and then, in- 756 vading the person, proceeded to eat him. The guardians of the people against the wicked spirits and mediators between humans and spirits were [171] the oyun or shamans. The shaman garb and tambourine among the Dolgans were the same as among the Evenks.

776 In their religion the Dolgans worshipped the so-called saytaana. The saytaans could take a great variety of forms, for example, a stone of unusual shape or an ugly wild-deer antler. Any object could be a saytaan if a shaman commanded a spirit, ichchi, to enter it. The saytaans were greatly revered both as family and hunting patrons.

764 The Dolgans buried their dead in the ground. The western (Noril'sk) [531] Dolgans did not usually erect a log structure over the grave, but only left a mound of earth onto which they felled a tree. The eastern Dolgans built log structures over the grave, which they often embellished with intricate carving. A reindeer was slaughtered near the grave and the clothing in which the deceased had died was either left on the ground or hung on the tree.

Folklore

538 The indigenous folklore of the Dolgans was represented by riddles, tales, historical legends, epic poems and stories of everyday life—the latter constituting the predominant type. The stories tell of the nomadic life of the Dolgans in all its real, everyday context. They are brief, but extremely varied in content. Very popular were stories of animals—their origin, their metamorphosis into people and back again. A particular group was composed

The personal property of the collective-farm members includes herds of reindeer (up to 100 head), transport equipment, vertical nets, hunting guns and hunting and fishing tackle. Reindeer-herding remains the chief branch of the economy, but is now done in accordance with good animal husbandry practice. A reindeer technician and a veterinary assistant are attached to each team, which looks after a subherd.]

The Dolgan reindeer-herders on the collective farms pasture the herds in good grazing ground, far from the herding tent by day, and as night falls drive them back to the tent. Having rested, the reindeer at midnight begin to feed near the tent; at dawn they are driven to new feeding grounds some distance away. This grazing system, on the one hand, keeps the reindeer well fed and, on the other hand, they do not stray during the night and are easy to watch. Twenty-four-hour-a-day, year-round guarding of the reindeer has become a rule in collective herding.

[The herd of reindeer is constantly growing. Thus, in the Avamskiy Rayon, the number of reindeer increased over the last five-year period, by more than 50%. The necessity of yearly migrations along the tundra from Dudinka to the Anabar has been eliminated; previously this had a most unfavorable effect on Dolgan reindeer-herding. The demand for pack-reindeer has been reduced, due to the carriage of goods into the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons by the Northern Sea Route; from here they are brought to remote inland points by steamboat or cutter. Previously, the only route connecting the Dudinka with the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons in the winter was the reindeer highway from Dudinka to Popigay. Connections are now maintained winter and summer by airplane, although reindeer transport is still of some importance. Its technology is unchanged.

[Hunting technology has been reconstructed. Traps are set in the autumn before the beginning of the blizzards. For this purpose, hunting brigades sometimes journey to the north for several hundred kilometers into the taiga, spending the nights in sled-tents with iron stoves. Hunting brigades are made up before the beginning of the season, traps being distributed on the basis of 150–200 pitfall traps and 10 springtraps per hunter. With the first snow the brigades go out into the tundra and begin to hunt wild reindeer. Foxtraps are baited with the surplus meat obtained. In the Khatangskiy Rayon alone, where the majority of the hunters are Dolgans, the collective farms during the 1948–49 season set 5000 new pitfall traps and prepared 1000 bait-pits for foxes, in which they placed more than 40 tons of bait.

[Fox-hunting begins on November 15th. Springtraps are placed by experienced hunters at places where wild reindeer have been killed in the autumn, or on the bloody tracks of wounded wild reindeer near bait-pits, or previously discovered burrows. Hunting is the main source of income for Dolgan collective farms. The previous predatory methods have gone out of use—spearings, stockades, geese nets. Fishing has become important in a number of areas. Vegetable-gardening and animal husbandry (other than reindeer) have developed on many Dolgan collective farms. The members grow chiefly radishes, cabbage and onions.

[A process of settling down the previously nomadic population is in progress. In the new settlements where the collective-farm members whose work does not make them nomadic live, dwelling-houses of the Russian type have been built, along with various other farm and public buildings. Many settlements have their own electric stations.]

The members of reindeer-herding and hunting brigades lead a nomadic life. Their families frequently travel with them. Separate nomadic groups are now set up, not on the basis of individual relations among different

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

291
342
871
361

Kindergarten on a walk. Taymyr National Okrug, Khatangskiy Rayon.

families, but on the initiative of the collective-farm administration, and 221
their routes are determined in the same way. Fishing brigades sent to fish 226
in some river or lake lead a settled life there, partly in houses built by the 474
collective farm at the fishing grounds.

[The Dolgans, particularly the descendants of the tundra peasants, had 177
Russian cottages even before the Revolution. They now build sturdy houses, 342
using both imported lumber and driftwood. The old-fashioned pole tent is
now used only in the summer.

[The Dolgan diet now includes bread, flour, and tea, boiled strong and 177
taken with sugar. Supplies are brought in regularly to the local stores. 262
Medical aid is available at 40 medical and medical-assistant points. The 743
Dolgan-Yakut population is served by hospitals at Noril'sk and in the 871
settlements of Chernoye, Volochanka and Khatanga. In 1953 there were
52 schools, including 3 seven-year schools, in the Taymyr National Okrug.
The Dolgan-Yakut population is served by schools at Chernoye, Dolgaiy,
Volochanka, Kheta, Khatanga, Popigay and other points.